

Message Text

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46

ACTION SS-30

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9167

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 17700

EXDIS

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW

SUBJECT: CSCE: COMMENTS OF GERMAN DEL CHIEF ON FOLLOW-UP
AND FREER MOVEMENT

BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING DEC 6 CONVERSATION WITH DCM
GERMAN CSCE DEL CHIEF GUIDO BRUNNER SAID HE
HAD GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NO
LONGER PRESSING FOR A QUICK END TO THE CONFERENCE.
BRUNNER BELIEVED THE TIME HAD COME FOR THE ALLIES TO
ADDRESS SERIOUSLY THE QUESTION OF CSCE FOLLOW-UP, AND
DESCRIBED HIS RECENT TALK ON THIS TOPIC WITH JOBERT.
BRUNNER ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT SOME CONCRETE IF MODEST
GAINS IN BASKET III REMAINS SINE QUA NON FOR GERMAN
AGREEMENT TO HOLD THE THIRD STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE.
BRUNNER'S MAIN POINTS WHICH ARE SENSITIVE AND SHOULD BE
CLOSELY HELD ARE REPORTED BELOW. END SUMMARY

1. BRUNNER TOLD DCM THAT HE BELIEVED THE
SOVIETS WERE NO LONGER PRESSING FOR A RAPID CONCLUSION
OF THE CSCE. HE SAID THIS IMPRESSION HAD BEEN CONFIRMED
DURING HIS DEC 6 CONVERSATION IN BONN WITH POLISH
FOREIGN MINISTER OLSZOWSKI. OLSZOWSKI HAD AGREED WITH
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BRUNNER'S ESTIMATE THAT THE COMMITTEE PHASE COULD NOT
BE CONCLUDED BEFORE APRIL OR MAY. WHILE OLSZOWSKI SAID
HE HOPED CSCE FINALE IN HELSINKI COULD BE HELD IN JUNE
OR JULY, POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS
COULD ONLY BE POSSIBLE IF COMMITTEE PHASE WAS CONCLUDED

BY APRIL. IF COMMITTEE PHASE RAN INTO MAY, THEN, IN OLSZOWSKI'S VIEW, BRUNNER'S ESTIMATE OF A SEPT CSCE FINALE WAS PROBABLY AN ACCURATE ONE.

2. BRUNNER EXPRESSED VIEW THAT SOVIETS HAD LEARNED TWO LESSONS FROM THE FIRST YEAR OF CSCE NEGOTIATIONS. FIRST, IF ONE PRESSES ON TIME, HE MUST PAY A PRICE; AS A RESULT, SAID BRUNNER, SOVIETS NO LONGER PRESSING. SECOND, IF ONE PRESSES FOR ELABORATE FOLLOW-UP MACHINERY ONE HAS TO PAY A PRICE IN TERMS OF BASKET III SUBSTANCE. AS A RESULT, SOVIETS PRESENTLY ARE KEEPING FAIRLY STILL ON FOLLOW-UP AND WILL GEAR UP STRONGLY ON THIS TOPIC ONLY TOWARD THE END OF THE COMMITTEE PHASE.

3. DESPITE THIS RESTRAINED SOVIET APPROACH, BRUNNER SAID TIME HAS ARRIVED FOR THE ALLIES TO CLEAR THEIR MINDS ON AND DETERMINE HOW TO HANDLE THE FOLLOW-UP ISSUE. BRUNNER TOLD US CONFIDENTIALLY THAT HE SAW 3 POSSIBLE WAYS TO HANDLE FOLLOW-UP. ONE POSSIBILITY IS AN ORGANIZED STRUCTURE OR BODY, BUT THE FRG IS OPPOSED TO HAVING ONE LOCATION OR A SECRETARIAT FOR SUCH A BODY. BRUNNER SAID THIS FRG OPPOSITION ALSO APPLIES TO A WEST BERLIN VENUE, "NOT WITHSTANDING EGON BAHR'S RECENT LECTURE IN PARIS." BRUNNER SAID BONN ALSO OPPOSES CREATION OF A "POLITICAL ORGAN DEALING ONLY WITH BASKET I," AS IT COULD DEVELOP INTO A SURVEILLANCE BODY CONCERNING PRINCIPLES OF INTER-STATE RELATIONS. A SECOND POSSIBILITY WOULD BE THAT ANY CSCE FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES BE SUBJECT TO AGREEMENT BY CONSENSUS. THIS COULD PROVIDE A CERTAIN GUARANTEE OR BRAKE' ON UNWANTED POST-CSCE DEVELOPMENTS. A THIRD WAY TO HANDLE FOLLOW-UP WOULD BE TO DRAFT PRECISE TERMS OF REFERENCE IN LIGHT OF THE SUBSTANTIVE CONFERENCE RESULTS. BRUNNER SAID HE CONSIDERED IT NECESSARY THAT THE ALLIES CONSIDER THESE AND OTHER APPROACHES AND COME UP WITH A PREFERRED POSITION IN THE NEXT TWO TO THREE
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MONTHS, BEFORE THE SOVIETS START PRESSING HARD AND IN TIME TO USE FOLLOW-UP ISSUE IN EXTRACTING FREER MOVEMENT PRICE FROM THE RUSSIANS.

BRUNNER SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED THESE OPTIONS SO FAR ONLY WITH JOBERT, WHO HAD BEEN RELUCTANT EVEN TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT. JOBERT WARNED THAT "IDEAS FLY" AND EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT ALLIED DISCUSSION OF TOPIC NOW WOULD GET BACK TO THE SOVIETS. JOBERT HAD MADE CLEAR

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EXDIS

THAT FRENCH ATTITUDE TOWARD CSCE AS WELL AS OTHER EAST WEST DETENTE ISSUES HAD CHANGED CONSIDERABLY SINCE THE DAYS WHEN SCHUMANN HAD BEEN PRINCIPAL PROPONENT OF "ENTENTE" WITH MOSCOW. BRUNNER ATTRIBUTED THIS SHIFT IN FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY INTER ALIA, TO JUNE U.S./SOVIET ATOMIC AGREEMENT, AND REALITY OF MBFR.

5. BRUNNER SAID HE ALSO MENTIONED GERMAN THINKING ON FOLLOW-UP TO US AND SAID FRG HAD TAKEN THE INITIATIVE TO RAISE THE TOPIC DISCREETLY WITH PARIS, GIVEN UP-COMING GERMAN CHAIRMANSHIP OF EC-9. HOWEVER, IN VIEW OF INITIAL FRENCH REACTION, HE SAID BONN WAS UNLIKELY TO PRESS THE MATTER FURTHER UNLESS THERE IS A CONSENSUS TO DO SO IN THE WEST.

6. TURNING TO BASKET III, BRUNNER SAID FRG HAS NO EXCESSIVE EXPECTATION BUT BELIEVES THAT WITH PATIENCE IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO MAKE SOME CONCRETE ALBEIT MODEST GAINS. BRUNNER SAID BONN HAS NOTED SOME PRIVATE INDICATIONS OF SOVIET FLEXIBILITY CONCERNING FAMILY REUNIFICATION, MARRIAGES, EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION, THE U.K. IDEA OF A CSCE MAGAZINE AND THE GERMAN PROPOSAL FOR A EAST-WEST SCIENTIFIC FORUM. HE SAID MOSCOW HAS FOLLOWED A ZIGZAG POLICY ON THIRD BASKET AND WISHES TO SELL THE CONFERENCE AS CHEAPLY AS POSSIBLE. FRG BELIEVES SOME GAINS IN BASKET III ARE ESSENTIAL,
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BOTH IN TERMS OF GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION AND IN ORDER TO WIN SOME RECOGNITION THAT THE KEY PRINCIPLE OF COOPERATION IN EAST WEST RELATIONS MUST ALSO AT LEAST MILDLY AFFECT NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTIES IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN CONTACTS. SAYING POLES HAD SHOWN SOME RECOGNITION OF THIS LATTER WESTERN WISH, BRUNNER EMPHASIZED THAT THIS COULD PROVIDE A SMALL TOOL IN POST-CSCE DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING THE MEANING AND REALITY IN DETENTE.

7. FAILURE TO REACH AGREEMENTS IN THIRD BASKET WOULD
LEAVE CONFERENCE RESULTS LIMITED TO REFLECTION OF U.N.
PRINCIPLES, INTENT TO WORK OUT ARBITRATION ARRANGEMENTS
FOR ECONOMIC DISPUTES, CONFIRMATION OF GROWING COMMERCIAL
EXCHANGES AND VERY MINOR CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES.
BRUNNER SAID SUCH A RESULT WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO FRG
AND GERMAN PEOPLE AS BASIS FOR CONVENING THIRD STAGE
OF CSCE. HE SAID BONN "DOES NOT SEE CSCE AS THE DIMES
AND QUARTERS FOR HANDLING MBFR, SALT AND OTHER MAJOR
WORLDWIDE ISSUES." BRUNNER CONCLUDED WITH OBSERVATION
THAT CSCE WAS ABOUT EUROPEAN SECURITY AND WAS THEREFORE
CONSIDERED TO BE IMPORTANT PART OF FOREIGN POLICY OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN STATES. HE HOPED USG WOULD HAVE
UNDERSTANDING FOR AND GIVE SUPPORT TO THIS APPROACH.
HILLENBRAND

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